2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

881 them all at the same time. If a child should die before having been through this cere-
[776] mony, they do not cremate such ones and do not carry their bones to the Damuda river.
A man wants to have the caco chạṭiạr for his children; he brews beer and procures
[273] oil and turmeric to anoint the village people. Then he calls the village headman and his
[302] deputy and pours beer out to these two. They ask him: Look here, you, what beer is this that you are giving us? He says: This, father, is intimation-beer; I am minded to do so and so, that is to say, I am going to have caco chạṭiạr for my children. This happens in the morning. After having drunk the beer the village headman and his deputy
[793] send the Goḍet to call the village people[7]. They come; when they are assembled, the village girls first anoint the village priest and his wife sitting on a mat; thereupon they anoint the field priest and his wife, after them the village headman and his wife, thereupon his deputy and this one's wife, the custos morum and wife, his deputy and wife, the messenger and wife, and finally they anoint all the (men and) women of the village. Now they serve beer round. First they give the village headman and his deputy, thereupon all the people. When one round has been served they ask the father of the children: For how many is this? He answers: For so and so many. Then so many children as are to have the caco chạṭiạr, so many rounds of beer they serve, each round four leaf-cups to each. Then they ask the father of the children: How many iṛi and how many erba of yours have shot into ears[8]? He says: So many iṛi and so many erba have shot into ears. They say in reply: Very fortunate. Then they ask him: Whereabouts are the countries? The children's father then names the countries where the grandparents of the children live. Then they call for the namesake-beer. Now the grandparents of the
[603] children give the village people beer that they have brought with them from their homes.
[539] Thereupon the village people dance singing:

Along here, along in this direction are Nilgai tracks,
Along here, along in this direction are Nilgai hind tracks.

Track, track the Nilgai tracks,
Follow, follow the Nilgai hind tracks.

On the tank embankment are Nilgai tracks,
On the river bank are tracks of the Nilgai hind.

Tie on him (her), O mother, a golden bell,
Fasten on him (her) O mother, hollow sounding bells.

---

[192] [7] Nowadays the Jọg Mạñjhi is generally asked to call the people together; the people sit in rows on straw spread out for the purpose. [8] i. e., how many girls and how many sons have been born to you? iṛi is Panicum Crus-galli, L., fig. used about a girl; erba is Setaria italica, Kunth., fig. used about a boy.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 [515] into the bridegroom's house, brings out oil and toothbrush twigs and gives this to the young men and says to them: Do go and have a bath. They consequently go and bathe and brush their teeth. Coming back to the house they sit down. The Jog Mañjhi brings an earthenware pot of beer out from the house of marriage, pours the beer out and gives it to them, and they drink. Thereupon he brings out one big flat basket with rice and one small earthenware pot with curry. Further he brings leaf-plates and a loṭa out; handing them the loṭa he says to them: Do pour out water for yourselves; wash your hands. They do this; the Jog Mañjhi then says: I say, one of you, please give us the rice, and one of you the curry. Then they all eat, and when they have had food, he says to them: Twist some strings with fringes, some of you young men twist the strings, and some of you fetch mango leaves and insert them in the strings; tie the strings in the four corners of the marriage-shed. They do this. Again the Jog Mañjhi says to them: Fix strings in three places in the village street[23], one string outside the headman's house, and one at each end of the village street. They do this and finish all, so far as they are concerned.

• [302] Thereupon the bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please call the village headman and his deputy and all the married ladies of the village and bring them here, to anoint them with oil and turmeric. He does this himself, and they come. When they have sat down, they first give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. After this the Jog Mañjhi calls the anointing girls and says to them: Do anoint them for us with oil and turmeric. They do this; first they anoint the village priest and his wife, thereupon the priest of the outskirts and his wife, thereupon the village headman and his wife, thereupon his deputy with his wife, next the Jog Mañjhi and his wife, next his deputy and his wife, thereupon the Godet and his wife, and thereupon all the married ladies of the village. This they call the marriage-shed oil and turmeric. When all have been anointed, the parents of the bridegroom sit down on thatching-grass sheaves, and they are both anointed. Lastly they anoint the bridegroom sitting on a mat between his follower and the lady conductor of ceremonies. At this time they sing[24]: [539]

Turmeric, turmeric, perfect stuff,
Who is she who anoints me with turmeric,
Consecrating me to become a man?

Turmeric, turmeric, perfect stuff,
Mother anoints me with turmeric,
Consecrating me to become a man.

---

[23] These strings are arranged so as to run across the street. [24] The song is, like many others sung during the marriage ceremonies, in a corrupt form of Bihari; these songs are often very difficult to understand. As a matter of fact, it has in many cases happened that no Santal has been able to tell what they really mean.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585

When they have anointed the bridegroom, they anoint his follower, and last of all they anoint the conductress of ceremonies. When they have again drunk two leaf-cups of beer each, they separate and go home. But from this day until the marriage is finished the young men and girls dance day and night. [302] [535]

After three days the time for going with the bridegroom comes. The father of the bridegroom then at cock-crow pours out one earthenware pot full of "intimation" beer, and calling the village headman and his deputy, the Jog Mañjhi and his deputy he gives them beer. [273]

While they are drinking, the village headman asks the bridegroom's father: Look here, what beer is this? We do not find the malted grain. "Malted grain" is a metaphorical word, viz., the explanation of the matter, why he has brought them there. The father of the bridegroom then says in reply: Help us to-day to follow the bridegroom, the day fixed has come. The village headman then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Do call the village people together. He sends the Godet, who brings all there. They give beer to all. The bridegroom's father says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please get hold of five men for me. He brings them, and the bridegroom's father says: Do bring food out for us the bridegroom's party, rice, curry, salt, and five pots of beer; when it is light we shall send forerunners in advance; and at the same time they take along one goat and one pot of beer, three half-seers of rice (if the bride-price is five rupees, then five half-seers of rice), three branches of the root of turmeric, tobacco, salt, and oil in a small earthenware vessel, the last mentioned things are obligatory presents, that is to say, they call them materials for offering to the bongas.

When the forerunners have had food, they take all the things mentioned along in advance. When they reach there, one of them goes to the house where the marriage is to be held. Here also they have set up a marriage-shed and have worked as in the bridegroom's village. The man says: How is it, Sir, we the forerunners have come. The bride's father then says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please show them where to stay. The Jog Mañjhi then takes the forerunners to where they have made sheds for the bridegroom's party. He gives them earthenware pots for water and cooking, a flat basket, wooden ladles, firewood, leaf-plates, and leaf-cups; thereupon he returns to the house of marriage.

After they have sent the forerunners off, the people of the bridegroom's village, men and women, go to have "water-marriage". The bridegroom's mother takes a flat basket along. In this there is sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, a bunch of dhubi grass, one egg, oil, and sindur and one ball of thread. The wife of the bridegroom's father's younger brother carries a sword, and his paternal aunt carries bow and arrows. Two anointing girls carry on their heads narrow-necked earthenware pots resting on pads of thread, having covered them up with clothes for the bride; these two pots they call omen-pots. A brother-in-law [604] [607]

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 [769] brought there, this they also offer to him. The anointing girls now carry the bridegroom on their hip to the end of the village street and set him down there, and from there they return home. The marriage-broker conducts the bridegroom's party to the bride's home, carrying a [534] [178] kettle-drum along. Nowadays they go taking with them big drums, trumpets, horns, tubas, cornets, palanquins, rockets, catherine-wheels, bombs, guns, and so on, that is to say, wealthy people do this; but such things were not used formerly, and we did not employ Doms to drum.

When the bridegroom's party reach the bride's village, they call a halt at the entrance to the village street. The marriage-broker goes to the bride's home and says to them: We have arrived; if there is anything you have not got ready, finish it quickly. They answer him: We [302] are ready. The Jog Mañjhi now at once sends the Goḍet to summon the village people. They come there; they anoint themselves with oil and turmeric, beer they also drink, and all married women apply sindur[26] to themselves, but not spinsters, divorced ones, or widows.

Now the Jog Mañjhi makes the Goḍet carry a vessel with water on his shoulder, and he himself carries a loṭa with water, standing on a leaf-plate, kept on the palm of his hand turned upwards; they both go to the bridegroom's party, who have been dancing in the meantime. Seeing the Jog Mañjhi they stop. The Jog Mañjhi and the Goḍet say: Please, friends, drink water. The Jog Mañjhi hands the loṭa with water to the bridegroom's party; they receive it with both hands; thereupon they salute each other, and the bridegroom's party drink.

Thereupon the bride's mother, carrying on the up-turned palm of her hand a loṭa with water and a leaf-cup with molasses standing on a brass-plate, conducts the bride's party and the anointing girls on the bride's side and the women of the village to the end of the village street to meet the bridegroom with water. When they have reached there, she says to the marriage-broker: Bring the bridegroom here, we shall give them molasses to eat and water to drink. When the bridegroom's party and the bride's party have greeted each other and thus become one party, they dance. The marriage-broker says to the bride's mother: Look here, this one is the bridegroom. He salutes his mother-in-law and also a couple of the women. When the other women and the anointing girls see the bridegroom, [539] they sing a number of abusive songs:

To-day, they say, to-day he will come, to-morrow, they say, to-morrow he will come;
How big a wealthy man's son is he, that we must wait until midnight?

Thy mother made friends with a dog,
Thy mother made friends with a cat.
Fie, fie, to a bastard,
My daughter I do not give.[27]

[302]

[26] The sindur, the blood-red vermilion, is applied to the forehead at the parting of the hair, just enough to show that the lady has a husband living. A Hindu custom. [27] These two verses are in a kind of Bihari; the following verses are all in Santali.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

Now they say: Please bring the bride. Inside the house they make the bride take on the bridal cloth and make her sit down in a flat basket. The Jog Mańjhi then says to the bridegroom's party: Honoured bridegroom's party, this one you see here is for you. They carry her out into the village street outside the house to where they have the bridegroom riding on the best-man's shoulder. There they keep her lifted up, opposite to the bridegroom. Between these two the bridegroom's party now hang a cloth as a curtain. The Jog Mańjhi on the bride's side puts a loṭa with water into the palm of the bride's hand, and the bridegroom's party do the same to the bridegroom and say to him: Now, young man, sprinkle water on her head with a mango leaf, three times. The bride's people also say to her: Now, you also sprinkle water on the bridegroom's head with a mango leaf, three times. They both do this. 585

Thereupon the best-man hands five Sal leaves to the bridegroom; in the uppermost of the leaves he has wrapped up some sindur. The bridegroom's party then say to him: Now remove the covering cloth from the bride's head. He does this, and he keeps the sindur in his left hand above the bride's head. The bridegroom's party say to him: First let a little fall down on the ground. He does this, and they say to him: Now with the little finger of your right hand smear five times on the bride's forehead. When he has done this, they say to him: With your left hand take hold of the bride's neck and plaster all the sindur on her. He does this; then they cry Horibol[30]. [302]

Thereupon the best-man puts the bridegroom down on the ground, and his party say to him: Now take your bride on your hip and down. He does this, and then the bride's elder sister comes and ties together the clothes of bride and bridegroom.

After this the bride's mother and those with her, the three sisters-in-law[31] (wives of brothers), go inside into the house and arrange on a brass-plate a little dhubi grass, a little sun-dried paddy, sun-dried rice, three balls of flour and three balls of cowdung, and turmeric in one leaf-cup, and oil in one leaf-cup they also put on this brass-plate; they come out from the house to the village street outside, where the bride and the bridegroom, and the duenna[32] on the bride's side and the best-man and the follower on the bridegroom's side are. The bride's mother waves the brass-plate three times over the heads of the bride and the bridegroom, of the best-man and the two followers[33]. After this she also three times waves over their heads the dhubi grass, a little of the sun-dried paddy, and of the sun-dried rice that is on the brass-plate; then she scatters the dhubi grass and the paddy and the rice behind their backs. And mixing the oil and turmeric together she smears some on the bridegroom's two cheeks; and he also takes oil and turmeric up from [607]

---

[30] Horibol, the Bengali form for Hạribol, i. e. "call on Hari". [31] The wives of the bride's father (her mother) and of two of his brothers or cousins. [32] The lumti kuṛi or lumti buḍhi, who follows her to her new home and returns when all ceremonies have been performed. As a rule the bride has more than one such follower, generally three, sometimes even five. [33] See Dictionary s. v. cumạuṛa.

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

b. The clothes of the family.

291 A man's dress is a piece of cloth, one cubit broad and five cubits long, this is to take round the loins; and to wrap oneself in they have a cotton shawl or an over-cloth, five cubits long and three cubits broad. If they are wealthy, they also wrap a turban cloth, some five cubits long, round their head. Poor people use a piece of cloth some two cubits long and half a cubit broad as a loin-strip, or they have a piece of cloth two and a half cubits long and one cubit broad as a loin-strip. And during the cold season they have a piece of cloth, some three cubits square, to wrap round themselves.

Women have only one piece, ten cubits long, of women's cloth; this they take round the waist and up over the back and breast.

Children stay naked, until they are eight years old; after this age boys get a loin-strip and girls a girl-loincloth.

302 Men arrange a hair-knot, and the women tie up their hair with a plait of cow's tail hair. All use a comb.

c. The ornaments of the Santals.

301 Formerly men and women, when they had reached some age, did not use ornaments. And the ornaments of young men and girls were only flowers. Nowadays all have ear-rings, whether women or men, whether boys or girls. Elderly men also use wristlets. Besides these, elderly men have no ornaments. Elderly women have wristlets, necklaces, and rings.

Young men have wristlets, necklaces, and rings, and when they dance they adorn themselves with hollow bells round the ankles, hollow ankle-rings, blue-jay feathers, and flowers. Girls adorn themselves with wristlets, anklets, curved anklets, thin toe-rings, great toe-rings, toe-rings with hollow bells, necklaces, rings, solid close-fitting necklets, solid neck ornaments, arm ornaments, upper arm ornaments, and flowers. On small boys and girls they put hollow anklets and small hollow bells.

d. Men's work.

462 221 From the month of Phalgun to the end of Baisak (i. e., from the middle of February to the middle of May) it is "sitting time". Then the men make implements for their own use and gather provisions for the household; then they make ploughbeams and yokes, ploughs, and clod-crushers, earth-shovels and cart-wheels, cart shafts and axles, neck-ropes and yoke-leather-thongs, hide-straps and ropes, spinning wheels and cotton-cleaning implements, handles for spades and pick-axes, axes and adzes, bedstead legs and frames, stools and wooden slabs to sit on, wooden ladles and spoons, bows and arrows, flutes, wooden pestles and mortars and weaving implements; they weave cloth and bedsteads, and they bring firewood and wood for the house, and they repair the house.

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

boiled in water and mixed with salt and turmeric, serve as sauces in the Santal dinner.

We have already got some idea about the Santal use of "mohua" oil in cooking. This oil, they massage also over their bodies, but after and not before their daily ablution, as is the custom with some Hindus. Like the rest of the world, they delight in a smoke of tobacco. We have already noticed the preparation of the "pungi", the Santal cigarette, called also *chuti* in the Santal Parganas. This is, we were told, men's monopoly, the women smoking only occasionally. But raw tobacco, mixed with lime in the form of "khaini" (*Hindi*) is chewed frequently by both men and women as a perpetual stimulant.

No review of the material background of Santal life will be complete without a reference to their domestic animals. Cows, buffaloes, sheep and goats meet your eyes in the cattle-yard; pigs grunt, geese cackle and fowls flutter about mixed up with pigeons flying down from their improvised nests inside earthen pitchers suspended from roofs.

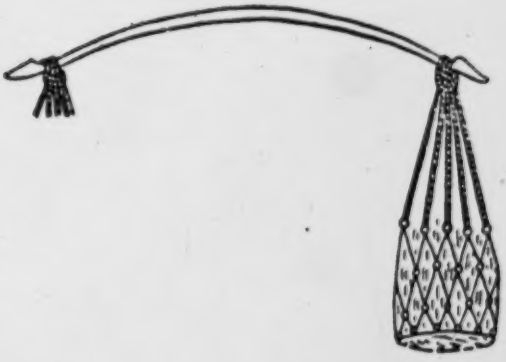
Drink

"Give me rice-beer, or give me death," may be the summary of a Santal's instinctive craving for

31 Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

For purposes of transport, they use carrying-nets in the shape of bags slung at both ends of a pole carried on the shoulder called "Sikuar maran." They

Argo



Sika

are made of twisted strings of hemp fibre and are very strong. These are used by men ; while the women carry things on their head while marketing or on travel, using a basket for the purpose. At times one sees them carrying bottles nicely poised on their heads, in utter defiance of all laws of gravitation.

Dress

The Santal women now generally wear bordered "saris" not less than seven cubits in length. Half of this serves as the lower garment being knotted at the waist, the other half is passed over the left shoulder and hangs in the front. They use no veils for their heads of ravendark mass of wavy hair. They keep

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

302 them combed in a nice knob at the back of their
301 head and decorate them with flowers of all hues and frequently with tufts of red silk.

291 In Mayurbhanj, we found the children upto five wearing a very short loin-cloth, worn round a coloured string tied at the waist (Bengali, *ghunsi* ; Santali, *danda jhinjhir*). They call this cloth "gendre." Girls after their tenth year wear a thick cloth called "panhand" in Santali (Oriya, *lahanga*). Some of these have a bright violet border. Such "saris" reach only upto the knee, as they measure three cubits in length and one and a half cubits in width. But they take care to cover the upper part of their bodies with another part of the same measurement, called "gamcha" by them.[1] It should [184] however be mentioned that the dress of Santal women varies from area to area and those in intimate contact of Hindu life have taken to using the mill-made "saris" as a point of fashion, which are wound several times round the waist, and then carried over the left shoulder.

But women, who have retained their primitive style intact, make several pleats in the portion bound round the waist at the front, and the end thrown over the shoulder from behind falls over the breast,

1 Dr. Campbell in his Dictionary (Santali to English), calls this *Gögöh'*.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ
SANTAL PARGANAS

562 585 302 (5) Vermilion is applied as a mark of recognition, even to a *rakhni* (mistress), by a married woman of any Santal clan during marriage ceremonies, when all married women of the tribe are anointed according to custom.

562 428 (6) When a man dies leaving his wife and brother and other kins on both sides, the widow inherits everything, provided her husband was separate from his brothers. But if he lived jointly (with his brothers), the widow gets maintenance only.

(7) The daughter has no share in her father's property, if there are male children.

(8) But if there are no sons, the daughter inherits in preference to all agnates.

562 *Legal status of Santal women in the Santal Parganas*

The status enjoyed by the Santal woman in her tribal fabric as revealed by the researches of Rev. P. O. Bodding presents an interesting study to show how an originally legal non-entity is gradually acquiring her rights of property recognised by indirect legal fictions.

[538] To revert to Santal myths and folk-tales we find woman being credited with uncanny powers associated with witches. Women, to the primitive Santal, can befool even the "*Bongas*" (the evil-spirit deities)

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

persons belonging to the same totem are affected, and they desist from eating fish, meat and oil, nor do they borrow fire from another man's house for nine days, till the *asidha* (ceremonial pollution) continues.

On the expiry of the period, the Headman arrives at the house in mourning with the village elders and the other invited relatives. A Santal barber then shaves the members of the family, whereupon, they bathe after rubbing their bodies with oil and oil-cake. Now, a ceremony follows when three tooth-sticks, four fingers in length, oil, oil-cake, *narkan hasa* (a kind of earth to wash the hair) are arranged on three *Sal*-leaves and offered to *Maraṅ Buru* (the chief presiding deity), the deceased and the dead ancestors, with prayers so that *Maraṅ Buru* may admit the released spirit after purifying it with all these materials.

Now, all men have a ceremonial bath closely followed by the women. A *Tika Murmu* now addresses the gathering, "They were so long under *ashida*. Now they are purified. We can now take them back." Now all shout *hòribol* as a sign of approval. Two men now again fall into a trance (*jhupar*) and impersonate *Maraṅ Buru* and the dead man. They are liberally plied with a supply of rice-beer, along with the "Mòṇṛèn hòṛ" (village elders). At night, fowls are offered by the tribe

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

833 826 As regards the part played by the breasts in the mechanism of tumescence and intercourse, it was gathered that the men fondle the breasts as a preliminary to intercourse. This is the first tactile contact preceding coitus. Kissing the cheeks and not the lips is the custom, and even then, it does not form an indispensable approach to the consummation. And although, the posture adopted in coitus does not stimulate the breasts, these are squeezed with the hands as will be clear from the folk-song quoted already (Dèr dèr ko men hili ho), nor does it permit of kissing, as the man sits under the raised legs of the woman.

832 301 As for the sexual basis of ornaments worn by women, wrist-ornaments are most liked by men, perhaps because of the tinkling sounds they produce. Older men seemed to like the "kharua" worn in the legs of women. The hair plays no unimportant part. Men comb their hair regularly by rubbing *mohua* oil, and after intervals of a week, they wash them with *markan basa* (the soapy mud).

832 826 [302]

832 Whatever that may be, to women it is the man of health and vigour who counts. He must have wonderful virility and potency to have her favours. Should a man be physically charming and possess all the arts of winning attraction, as capacity to tell stories, witty talks, proficiency in singing and dan-

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

142
291
301
• 307
411
516

[End Plate I]

A Santal Couple

[Page 49]

Photo: Mayurbhanj State

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

142
291
• 302

Santal Physical Types [Page 49]
Photo : Mayurbhanj State

142
291
301
302
516

[End Plate 2]

Santal Girls of Modern Times
[Page 49]
Photo ; Indra K. Chatterjee

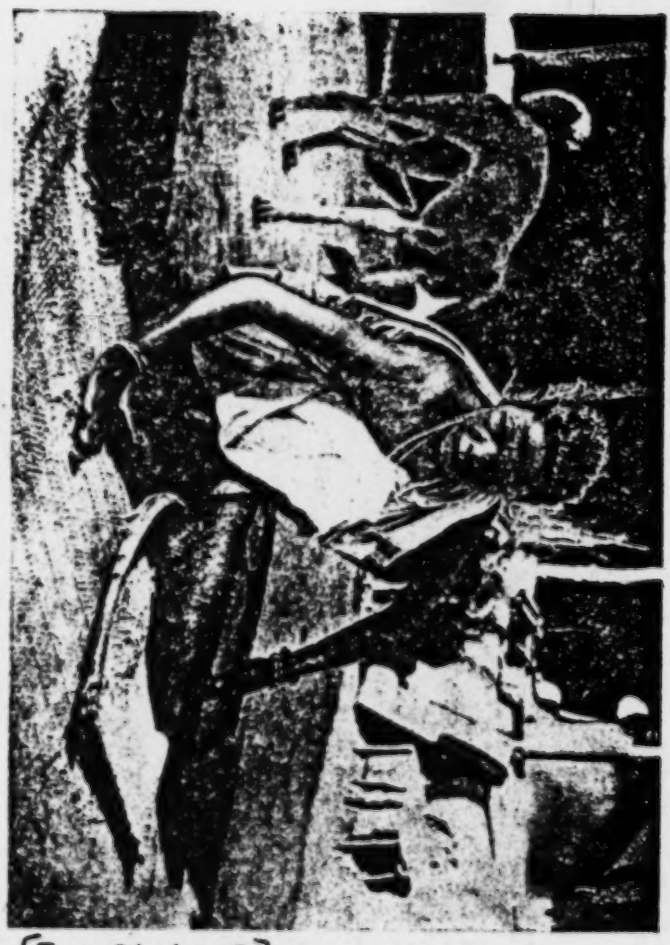
3: Mukherjea O, Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

142
291
301
302
516
296

[End Plate 3]

Washing Clothes [Page 64]
Photo. Tilak Bandopadhyay

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42



142
231
291
301
302
516
243
285

Winnowing Corn

[Page 98]

Photo: Tilak Bandopadhyay

[End plate 7]

3: Mukherjea O, Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

142
291
301
302
832

The type that charms [Page 410]
Photo: Tilak Bandopadhyay

[End Plate II]

3: Mukherjea / O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

142
291
301
302
832

A Santal belle [Page : 410]

Photo : Tilak Bandopadhyay

[End Plate 12]

3: Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

291
301
302

Head-Dress of Santal Women

[Page 416]

Photo : Sambhu Saha

[End Plate 13]

4: Biswas D; E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

258 through the vertical post at the other end. Then they press together the two logs by placing another solid piece of wood crosswise over the upper log parallel to the wooden cleat which is fitted in the vertical post. With the help of these two, the logs are pressed together. Now-a-days the Santals supply the seeds and fruits to the Toli (oil men) and get oil in return. Besides using this oil for curry preparation they use oil in anointing, lubricating, for medicinal purposes and for lighting lamps.

[178] [252] [302] [757] [372]

How the Santals Prepare Pachawe (rice beer) :- The Santals drink Handi in large quantities. Young boys and girls, old men and women all drink Handi. Their method of preparing (rice beer) handi is as follows :- The first thing is to make a pot, with a large mouth called *tukuc*. The *tukuc* is filled with dry leaves or straw and set on the fire, they do it outside the house in the open as there is much smoke. This is done in the morning when they are to start brewing. When the *tukuc* becomes cool, it is cleaned. Then in the afternoon, they take ordinary rice and roast this a little. The roasting is said to give a certain flavour to the beer. Thereupon the rice is boiled and after that spread out to dry. The quantity of rice used for one brew varies from four to six paos (one pao is quarter of a seer). When the rice is fairly dry it is mixed with some vegetable fermenting stuff called Bakhar.[1] Very often certain vegetable matter is added to the Bakhar to make the beer intoxicating. When the rice and

273

[804]

1. Bakhar is a small round white thing which the Santals buy in the market. It is prepared by mixing hundred kinds of roots of trees and creepers with the powder of rice.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

301 women. Small rings made of silver are worn by the Santal women on one side of the nose, on the other side of the nose they fix a flat ornament made of silver. A brass or sometimes silver anklet of peculiar shape is 301 worn by them. Every Santal girl wears flowers in her •302 coiffure and over her ears. They comb their hair very neatly by applying mustard or mowa oil.

DANCES AND MUSIC

534 **Musical Instrument :-** The Santals possess very little in the way of musical instruments. The (Tamuk) Tum tum is their chief musical instrument. it consists of a hollow cylinder of wood with one end covered with cow or buffalo hide and the other end with goat skin. A drummer with his instrument slung across his chest slaps the Tum tum with his fingers, a double beat being [439] the signal for them to turn. This is not their own preparation, they buy it from the Chamars. They beat another kind of drum which is quite different from the Tum tum in form and preparation. The body of the drum is semicircular and is made of iron, the open end is covered with cow hide. They beat this drum with sticks in both the hands. They have a flute made of bamboo, the length of it is about one foot and the diameter is one inch. The bucks blow it by holding it horizontally. They have a buffalo-horn trumpet (which they call Sakua). It is about one foot in length, in its middle a small aperture is made. This is sounded by blowing air through the aperture to which the lips are tightly pressed. The air current in passing throws the edges of the lips into vibration (the lips being elastic membrane), the lips performing a function analogous to that of a valve which in rapid alteration allows and

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

checks the free passage of an air current. The note produced can be varied within harmonic limits by the action of the lips. The Santals have string instruments also. In their instrument only one string is used which is of gut. The frame-work of it consists of a box-like resonator, hollowed out and covered with goat skin. This goat skin is fixed to it by means of small pins of bamboo. The string is attached at one end to the neck and at the other to the distal end of the resonator. The string has a tuning peg and a wooden bridge for regulating its tension. The dancing-drum (Tumdak) has a slightly conical body of burnt clay; the body is covered with patches of strips of bullock-hide wound tightly round it; both ends are covered with skin, the broad end generally with bullock-hide, the narrow end with the skin of goat. Both ends are laced with strips of bullock-hide, stretched from end to end close together. These strips make the instrument much stronger, and they are placed close together to prevent the clay body from being easily touched The ends are given a rim of boiled rice spread over the surface in circular form, often painted black with a red and white ring outside. The Tumdak is carried over the shoulder in leather thongs, the broad end always to the left side. It is drummed with the hands, the broad end with the left hand and the narrow end with the right hand.

534 [533] [237] [323] [237] [531] [482]

Dancing :- The Santals love dancing very much and every evening the boys and maidens gather on a reserved open space in front of Jog-manjhis house for dancing. Males and females both dance together, though at times they dance separately. The maidens during dancing smooth and adjust their long hair and

535 [301] [302]

535 fix flowers in their coiffure and over the ear. The males
[80] also tie peacock's feather on their foreheads. I am now
[302] describing the dancing of the maidens which I saw
[114] personally in front of Katikund bungalow, which is fifteen miles from Dumka. The maidens stand closely in a line in order of height. They then fall away sidewise to form a big semicircle, limbs all moving as if they belong to one creature. They move forward two or three steps and in the same fashion they move backward and at the same time they make a circular
[533] movement. The dancers in the ring sing songs all the while to the music of the flute. Three or four men take their stand in the centre of the ring, beating Tum tum and semi-circular drums furiously.

796 **Dancing during Baha festivals**:- Their dancing at the
535 time of Baha festivals is different from that described above. They stand in a line the tallest first and the shortest last, then they bend down and each one raises and lowers both hands. In this way they move forward
[533] two or three steps and again come back. As above the dancers in the line sing songs, drumming and fluting goes on all the while.

535 **Dancing in which both male and female take part**:- Both maidens and youths decked with flowers and peacock's feathers hold hands so that the breasts of the girl touch the back of the man next to her, going round in a great
[533] circle. The dancers sing in tune to the music of drums and flutes played by the musicians in the centre of the circle.

857 **Games**:- In old days there was more play and less
178 work for Santal children. But now-a-days they have to go with their parents to the fields and do their share

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

of the Kisku sept. Santals are very particular about the honour of their women so far at least as outsiders are concerned and it is quite in keeping with their ideas that a sept formed by liaison with a Diku (non-Santal) should have been looked down upon and eventually banished from the community.

The names of the sub-septs have been collected from my Santal informant Ram Marandi (Parganait of Sundar Pahari of Godda sub-division). It agrees substantially in detail when I checked up the data from Campbell's Dictionary published in 1899. The sincerity of my informant is to be judged from his not being able to mention any sub-sept Chonrey and Pauria which do not occur in that area. The general impression which I gathered from other Santal dignitaries is that the sub-septs did not generally exist. The sub-septs appear at least in this case not to be exagamous units at all; they rather mark family distinction and traditions, for instance those who would not paint vermilion would be called Sada (white) or those who may have been descended from a headman or a priest would be called Majhikhil or Naikekhil. The sub-septs thus marked an important tendency of the Santal exogamous group either to be divided into sub-groups or sometimes to add a sub-group to itself. This alone explains the disparity in number of the sub-septs in the various septs. There is of course a tendency of the sub-septs to approximate to the number twelve according to the pattern of the total number of the septs. But this is by no means the case. Apparently the one important function of the sub-sept is to distinguish between Nij and Sada which occurs in all the septs. This pertains

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

614 to the use of vermilion and may be due to the impor-
•302 tant custom of smearing with vermilion on the occasion
184 of marriage and other auspicious ceremonies which once divided the Santals into two groups based on the use and non-use of vermilion. That this was the uppermost idea in the Santal's mind was forcibly impressed on me while taking their measurements and enquiring of their sub-septs; the majority came out with either Sada (white) or Nij (proper). Thus the sub-sept division not being exogamic is not so much a vital part of their social organization; rather it was a division
[174] due to culturtal difference. The possibilities are that once either the vermilion was a borrowed culture trait from outside or its use was given up by a section due to some internal reform movement or influence of some superior non-vermilion-using culture. It is more probable that the use of vermilion was more innate to
[585] them becuse the users are called the Nij or proper.
[171] Vermilion, it may be noted, is used by them only on the occasion of marriage. Among the Bengal Hindus vermilion is not only used in marriage but has to be always worn on the parted hair of the married women, lack of vermilion signifying widowhood. On the other hand in other parts of Hindu India more stress is laid on the use of flowers by the married women. Vermilion is not known in the primitive area of Assam. Thus it is probably a vital part of the culture of Chota Nagpur tribes.

Notes on Sub-septs

614 THA-OK SUB-SEPT
782
184 Whenever any ceremony (religious) occurs the members of this sub-sept sacrifice a goat or a pig in

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

their houses, and they shut the doors tight and allow no smoke to escape. 614 184 782

MAL SUB-SEPT.

They may not utter the word Mal when engaged in any religious ceremony or when sitting on a panchayat to determine any tribal question. 614 184

JIHU SUB-SEPT

They may not kill or eat the Jihu or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of garland known as Jihu Mala from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The Jihu is said to have guided the ancestor of the sept to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. [825] [773]

SANKH SUB-SEPT

They may not wear shell necklace or ornaments and are forbidden to eat, carry, cut, or use shell.

JUGI SUB-SEPT

They smear their foreheads with vermilion at the harvest festival and go round asking alms of rice. With the rice thus collected they make cakes which they offer to the gods. 614 184 302 782

MANJHIKHIL SUB-SEPT

The members of this sub-sept are descended from the Manjhi (headman of a village) . e., their ancestor was a Manjhi. 614 184

NAIKEKHIL SUB-SEPT.

The members of this sub-sept claim descent from a village priest.

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

844 cut by the midwife with an arrow by placing a coin beneath it, which is afterwards taken by the midwife. The placenta is then buried in a pit in one corner of the courtyard of the house. Immediately a birth is announced there is a gathering of friends and relations for congratulating the parents. After the birth of a child, the house and the village is considered polluted. So the Santals perform the *Janam Chatiar* ceremony, until this is done it is considered unpropituous to engage in any shikar or hunting expedition or religious ceremonies. The usual day for this ceremony is on the fifth day in the case of a male child and on the third day in the case of a female child. All the male members of the village come to the house of birth, first the village officials are shaved then all the other men present and then the father of the child. Then the midwife brings the child near the barber to cut a few locks of hair from the different parts of the head of the child, which are put in a leaf cup. The midwife then ties two threads to the arrow with which the umbilical cord was cut. All the village officials and other male members go to have their bath in a nearby streamlet. Then the midwife carries the child and together with the mother and the women of the village goes to the bathing place. There, the midwife throws the locks of hair and one of the threads in the water. After bathing they come back to the house. The midwife brings with her the second thread and the arrow, this thread is then smeared with turmeric and tied round the waist of the child.

[574] [846] [302]

[574] [612] When the purification has been completed, the men women and children of the village who have assembled at the house receive each a leaf cup full of rice water

597 of the boy renounce him and declare him henceforth to belong to the new father; it is also declared that the boy shall have no right of inheritance in the property of his natural father. When all this has been done the adopting father fixes a date for the formal adoption of the boy. The villagers of that village on that day behave as at Janam Chhatiar (name-giving ceremony of the Santal child). They shave and drink handi [302] [273] [614] (rice beer). The usual procedure in a Janam Chhatiar is that the officiating midwife tells the assembled people the name of the new-born child; here she does not tell the name of the boy but the sept or sub-sept of the adopting father; henceforth that becomes the [782] sept of the boy. Thereupon they leave the boy to eat the flesh of animals sacrificed to the tribal deities. Henceforward the boy becomes their own.

684 627 **Bitlaha**: It means to outcast a Santal from society. This outcasting takes place by the order of the assembled members of the Panchayat. It is resorted to when a Santal woman indulges in sexual intercourse with either a diku (non-Santal) or with a person of the same [622] sept. If any one commits such an offence the headman [689] of the village in question calls his neighbouring colleagues together and informs them of the matter; if the people hold that the case is not proven, then those who started the rumour are severely punished. If it is proved, the assembly gives an order for outcasting and they proceed to carry it out the day after the annual [211] hunt. The date of this Bitlaha is announced by a man [824] in the market who carries a branch of a Sal tree (Shorea robusta) with leaves. The people in the market on seeing him understand the matter and count the leaves

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

177 Bengali. The female members mostly cannot speak any
192 language except their own. They learn Hindi when
[191] they come in contact with the Hindi speaking labourers in the coal mines, railway workshops or when they come in contact with the Hindu Mahajans (money
177 lenders) and traders. Some of the Hindi and Bengali
192 words have also been introduced in their vocabulary which can be noticed in the language of their *mantras* and *prayers*.

• 302 Vermilion is one of the most important item for
585 marriage and in the worship of deities both for the
177 Hindus and the Santals. Some think that the Santals
174 have copied it from the Hindus, but it is doubtful whether it is their borrowed thing at all. Because in such important social customs as marriage and worship of tribal deities, vermilion is considered by the Santals
[583] as an essential ingredient. There is a kind of marriage in which a Santal can marry a woman simply by applying vermilion on her forehead, which shows that vermilion is the only binding source of marriage here. Such an important ingredient of culture is not usually borrowed and we can take it as a case of culture similarity.
177 Similarly, another custom of *Garde Jawas* is prevalent both among the Santals and the Hindus. There are other similarities in their social, religious and economic structure with the Hindus, but all of them cannot be attributed to their borrowing from the Hindus. Infact, saying so, implies that the Santals had no culture of of their own, which can not be true. It seems that there has been a two-way traffic of culture exchange-Hindus having borrowed some elements from the Santals and vice versa.

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

month. The date of the third is arranged while the first hunt is in progress, and it is announced by means of a *girq*. This is a method of reckoning dates or announcing future events. It may be used in connection with a hunt, but it is also used to announce a forthcoming marriage or a burial feast. It consists of a length of string in which a number of knots are tied, each knot representing one day. A number of *girq* are distributed to the surrounding villages during the weekly market, and they are kept by the headmen, who untie one of the knots each evening until one knot remains, when they know that the hunt takes place on the morrow.

Although the ritual meaning of the hunt has been obscured in the minds of the Santals, it is implicit in much that accompanies it. A hunt is the activity of the whole adult male population of the area. Women are not permitted to take part, but certain taboos must be observed by them while the men are away from home, to avert the lurking dangers of the forest. The prohibitions are similar to those enjoined on mourners and widows. No woman may wear flowers in her hair nor use the vermilion paint in the parting of her hair which is a sign of her married status. She should also leave off wearing the iron bangle which is another symbol of her marriage, and she must not bathe. At the present day, although the first two prohibitions are observed, there is some slackness about the others. But the main responsibility for placating the possibly malevolent influences residing in the forest rests with the *dihri*, or hunt priest. This is a special office, and the name is evidently the same as the Khond *dehuri* and the Ho *dihiri*, or priest. Among the Santals the *dihri* is a priest only at the time of the hunt, and he is appointed for the *pargana*. On the morning of the day when the hunt opens he performs the sacrifice of a brown hen on the edge of the forest which will be entered, and the tribal spirits are invoked to protect the men from wild beasts. He is encouraged by the spectators, who remind him that if any of them comes to harm they will hold him responsible. At times a certain amount of mimic hunting takes place in connection with the sacrifice, during which the *dihri* plays the part of the hunted animal.

The hunt lasts through the greater part of the day. The forest is surrounded by parties from different villages and the game gradually driven towards the centre. Within living memory the stock of game in most parts of the area has declined, and some of the hunts are now poorly attended for

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

A fourteen-year-old boy who was once asked his name replied: "By my name I cannot do anything." Pressed for some explanation of his words, he said: "By my name I cannot walk." It was then explained by some bystanders that the name by which he was known was *Leḍha*, "the lame one". There is a large number of figurative and hidden names for common objects. These names are used in conversation between those who are in the joking relationship with one another and particularly at the time of weddings. "White horse" is beer and "red horse" is spirits; "sheep's *ghi*"[1] is salt; "jackal's horn" is pepper; "frog spawn" is water. "We are sweeping the courtyard" means that we are washing our teeth; "Have you taken the harrow over the field?" means Have you brushed your hair? "Have you married off your middle son?" means Have you eaten your rice? There are many phrases to describe the evacuation of waste products from the body, one of which may be quoted. A man excuses himself from the company of his fellows with the words, "I am going to pay my rent!"

The Santal love of colour and decoration also gives expression to their sense of the joyous in life. Men are sparing in the use of personal adornment, though youths wearing ear-rings or necklaces made from seeds pass without remark. Women are fond of ornaments. Most of them wear a small flower-shaped brass ornament in the left side of the nose and have brass ear-rings. They all wear a *hasli* of silver or brass, a large ring that hangs round the neck. Bangles of silver, shell or glass are worn. They delight to fix flowers of red and white in their hair, and they enhance the lines of their eyes with a dark paste. On special occasions some of the heavier ornaments are brought out—large bell-shaped ear-rings, silver ornaments for the hair, anklets and rings for the feet and toes. The women also decorate the houses with gay-coloured patterns. The houses receive a new plaster coat of earth at the end of the rainy season in preparation for the Harvest festival. The house plinth or veranda and the wall up to a foot or two above the plinth are plastered a very dark grey, the colour being prepared by mixing cowdung with straw ash. Above this dark colour, on a first coat of light earth, the housewives vie with one another to attract the attention of their fellow villagers and of passers-by. There is no uniformity and the colours used depend rather on the coloured clays that are available in the neighbourhood of the village, but red predominates. Some house walls give

[1] Clarified butter.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 50]

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

and then a ram. The blood is placed in a vessel and fixed on the ground, surrounded with small stones. Only men may eat the meat of the animals sacrificed. The girls of this sub-clan are not allowed to wear Bengali-style *saṛis* or shell bracelets at the time of their marriage, though they may do so after they are married. When the men of this sub-clan are bringing brides to their home they present them with a *haṣli*, the neck ring, made of brass.

A whole range of the sub-clans is known as *Sada*, or "white". They may represent a reforming element, for their characteristic is a revolt against the use of red vermilion paint. When the first ancestors of the Sada Hembrom, so it is said, were going to perform a sacrifice they thought that they had with them all that they needed, but when they reached the spot where the sacrifice was to take place it was discovered that they had left behind their supply of *sindur*, the vermilion-coloured earth that plays a large part in the Santal cult. When they saw this they completed the sacrifice without the *sindur*, and since then their descendants have been known as Sada Hembrom and they have continued to observe the custom so carelessly begun! In other ways, too, they have abjured the use of vermilion. They make no use of it in the marriage ceremonial, though once their daughters are married and have become members of other clans they may put vermilion in the parting of their hair. The cloth which is a part of the presents given at the time of marriages must be white without any border, and their womenfolk are limited to plain cloth throughout life. The same pattern of behaviour applies to all the Sada sub-clans. The Sada Hāsdāk', along with some other sub-clans, when they perform their sub-clan sacrifices, first of all model a scorpion out of paste made from flour and water and offer it before going on to offer a hen, then a pig, and lastly a goat. This particular sub-clan has to eat all the flesh of the animals sacrificed and they are not allowed to throw any part of it away.

Some of the Murmu sub-clans are restricted in the type of dwelling-house that they may build. The majority of Santal house roofs are constructed on what is known in Bengal as the "charchala" plan. This consists of a thatch that slopes up from each of the four walls of the house. The main beam is set well above the four walls, being smaller than the length of the house, with four corner beams fixed two at each end of the main beam and going down to the four corners of the house to form the first stage of the framework on which the thatch rests. Most of the Murmu, however, have to build up the two end walls so that

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

584 *horok' cikhna*, the "putting on of a sign" in token of the agree-
584 ment. When the bridegroom's party arrive at the home of the
574 prospective bride they are welcomed as honoured guests. String beds are placed in the courtyard for them to sit on, their feet are washed and massaged with oil and they are served with beer. This over, they are taken into the house and given parched rice with molasses to eat. Their hands are then washed by their hosts and they are served with more beer before emerging from the house. Then the guests adjourn to bathe, and on their return they are seated on mats in the courtyard to eat a meal. This meal consists of rice and curry. Unless food consists of rice and curry it is never considered to be a full meal. While the menfolk
[302] eat, the women prepare themselves by dressing their hair; they put vermilion in their hair parting and also on both sides of the forehead, the marks going up from the outer end of the eyebrows in the shape of horns. When all have eaten and washed, the guests sit down once more and the bride-to-be is brought out by a married woman to pay her respects to the visitors. When she makes a low obeisance before the bridegroom's father he invests her with the "sign". This is either a necklace, a piece of cloth or a pair of bangles. When she bows before him she places at his feet a small brass vessel full of water, and in it he drops two rupees.

584 In the conversation that follows, all outstanding details of
583 the wedding arrangements are completed. First there has to be agreement about the bride price. This is known by two different terms, both of which are of Indo-Aryan origin. The first term, *gonoṅ*, is from a root meaning to count or calculate, and the second, *pon*, is from a root meaning earnest-money or a pledge. The amount is variable, and this leads to some bargaining. Thirty years ago seven rupees used to be considered a high figure, whereas now the sum varies from eleven to twenty-one rupees. The *jogmaṅjhi* of the bridegroom's village asks the bride's father to declare his wishes. He does so, not in words, but by placing the correct number of cowrie shells in leaf cups, whereupon the cups are passed over to the visitors. When a small bride price is agreed upon, the bridegroom's father understands that he cannot expect any gifts at the time of the marriage and he will have to bear the expenses of his own party for new clothes. Ordinarily, however, the bride's parents present the cloth to be worn by the bridegroom during the marriage ceremony. In addition, his family are entitled to receive the present of a cow or a goat, according to circumstances. The bride's family expects, in